

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 044302

FOR US CSCE DELEGATION FOR INFO

FOLLOWING IS A REPEAT

QUOTE

P 101927Z FEB 73

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI PRIORITY

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

CONFIDENTIAL STATE 26153

SUBJECT: CSCE: PERMANENT MACHINERY

REFERENCES: A) NATO 234; B) BONN 1307; C) USNATO 5466;

D) HELSINKI 160; E) HELSINKI 263; F) OTTAWA 289;

G) HELSINKI 0189; H) BONN 2026

1. FOR YOUR GUIDANCE AND IN CASE IT ULTIMATELY BECOMES
NECESSARY IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE EAST, US IS PREPARED
TO GRANT SOVIES AND OTHERS SOME FORM OF PERMANENT
MACHINERY, BUT SEEKS TO DEPRIVE IT OF AUTHORITATIVE
FUNCTIONS AND POLITICAL CHARACTER. THUS, US IS LESS
CONCERNED WITH AGENDA TITLE THAN THAT DISCUSSIONS OF
PERMANENT MACHINERY SHOULD BE DEFERRED UNTIL LATE IN CSCE

SECOND STAGE, SO THAT WORK OF COMMISSIONS CAN BE CITED

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AS HAVING ALREADY ACCOMPLISHED MUCH OF WORK ENVISAGED

FOR PERMANENT MACHINERY.

2. SECOND OBJECTIVE IS TO OBTAIN UNDERSTANDING WITH SOVIETS THAT ANY PERMANENT MACHINERY WHICH IS CREATED WOULD BE RESTRICTED TO CONSULTATIVE ROLE FOR EXCHANGING VIEWS AND WOULD BE AN AD HOC BODY, MEETING ONLY RARELY.

3. IN OUR VIEW, ATTEMPTS TO CIRCUMVENT ISSUE OF SEPARATE AGENDA ITEM BY PROPOSING THAT STEERING COMMITTEE (REF B) OR COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE HANDLE PERMANENT MACHINERY QUESTION ARE TACTICAL PLOYS WHICH ARE VERY UNLIKELY TO SUCCEED AND WHICH, IN ANY EVENT, SIMPLY OPEN WEST TO BARGAINING, WHICH ULTIMATELY WILL RESULT IN SOME FORM OF PERMANENT MACHINERY. THUS, AT THIRD ROUND OF MPT, AND IN CASE IT BECOMES NECESSARY TO BREAK POSSIBLE IMPASSE ON AGENDA INSCRIPTION ISSUE, US WOULD BE PREPARED TO JOIN WITH OTHER ALLIES IN INTRODUCING WESTERN AGENDA ITEM ON PERMANENT MACHINERY, WHILE AT SAME TIME SPELLING OUT CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH WE COULD ACCEPT SUCH ITEM. AS FAR AS US IS CONCERNED, WE WOULD NOT REFUSE TO JOIN MPT CONSENSUS FAVORING SEPARATE ITEM ON PERMANENT MACHINERY, AND ALLIES SHOULD UNDERSTAND THAT THIS WILL BE OUR POSITION.

4. FOLLOWING ARE MAIN POINTS OF US NEGOTIATING SCENARIO ON PERMANENT MACHINERY WHICH YOU SHOULD PROPOSE TO ALLIES FOR THEIR CONSIDERATION:

A) ALLIES INITIALLY COULD PROPOSE THAT A PARAGRAPH ON "CONFERENCE FOLLOW UP" (AS DESCRIBED PARA 3 REF A) BE ADDED AT THE END OF THE "COOPERATION" AND "HUMAN CONTACTS" COMMISSION MANDATES. PARAGRAPH WOULD NOT BE ADDED TO SECURITY COMMISSION MANDATE SINCE ANY FOLLOW-ON MACHINERY WHICH MIGHT BE PROPOSED IN THIS AREA MOST LIKELY WOULD BE POLITICAL IN NATURE. THE WEST THUS WOULD INDICATE ITS CONTINUED OPPOSITION TO CREATION OF PERMANENT POLITICAL MACHINERY. THIS IS ESSENTIALLY THE POSITION ALREADY AGREED UPON IN THE STEERING BRIEF.

B) IN THE EVENT THIS APPROACH IS REJECTED BY THE SOVIES,
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AS IS ALMOST CERTAIN, THE ALLIES SHOULD BE PREPARED AT MPT TO PROPOSE INSCRIPTION OF A SEPARATE AGENDA ITEM ENTITLED "FOLLOW-ON TO A CONFERENCE" (THE BELGIAN PROPOSAL, REF C) UNDER FOLLOWING CONDITIONS: THE TERMS OF REFERENCE OR MANDATE, OR OTHER FORM OF UNDERSTANDING,

FOR THE COMMISSION TO STUDY THIS PROPOSAL WOULD HAVE TO
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PROVIDE THAT DISCUSSIONS WOULD BE DEFERRED UNTIL COMPLETION OF THE WORK OF THE SPECIALIZED COMMISSIONS AND SUBCOMMISSIONS IN CSCE'S SECOND STAGE (WHICH WOULD ALSO BE IN LINE WITH AUSTRIA'S PROPOSAL, REF G). IN ADDITION, DISCUSSIONS WOULD ADDRESS PROPOSALS CONCERNING POSSIBLE FOLLOW-ON ACTION IN SPECIFIC TECHNICAL AREAS AND POSSIBLE AD HOC CONSULTATIONS CONCERNING FUTURE CONFERENCES. PERMANENT POLITICAL MACHINERY WOULD NOT BE DISCUSSED. (NOTE: WE WOULD NOT FAVOR PLOY PROPOSED BY FRG FOREIGN OFFICE THAT IN ORDER AVOID AGREEMENT TO SEPARATE AGENDA ITEM, WEST PROPOSE A STEERING COMMITTEE BE CHARGED WITH REVIEWING, AT THE END OF THE SECOND ROUND, THE RECOMMENDATIONS ON CONFERENCE FOLLOW-ON MADE BY THE SPECIALIZED COMMISSIONS, WITH A VIEW TO FORWARDING ITS CONCLUSIONS IN THIS AREA TO THE CSCE THIRD STAGE. WE BELIEVE THIS APPROACH HAS VERY LITTLE CHANCE OF SUCCESS AND WOULD ONLY SERVE TO UNNECESSARILY INCREASE PROBLEMS WITH SOVIETS ON THIS ISSUE.)

C) IF THE SOVIETS REFUSED TO ACCEPT "CONFERENCE FOLLOW-ON" AS THE TITLE FOR THIS AGENDA ITEM, WE WOULD BE PREPARED, IN CONCERT WITH THE OTHER ALLIES, TO INDICATE OUR AGREEMENT TO AN ITEM ALONG LINES OF THE "CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE" FORMULATION RECENTLY PROPOSED BY THE EAST (REF D); BUT SUBJECT TO SAME CONDITIONS IN PRECEDING PARAGRAPH (E.G. ITEM WOULD NOT CONTAIN REFERENCE TO FOLLOW-ON CONSIDERATION OF SECURITY OR POLITICAL ISSUES).

D) IT SHOULD BE AGREED AMONG THE ALLIES THAT IF, AND WHEN, THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE PROPOSAL IS DISCUSSED AT CSCE, THE WEST WOULD INDICATE THAT WHAT WE HAVE IN MIND ARE MEETINGS OF AMBASSADORS IN A GIVEN LOCATION IN RESPONSE TO SPECIFIC REQUESTS BY A CSCE PARTICIPANT
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STATE, SUBJECT TO AGREEMENT THAT THESE MEETINGS WOULD NOT REPEAT NOT BE HELD TO DISCUSS PROBLEMS RELATING TO POLITICAL DISPUTES, OR SECURITY ISSUES, BUT WOULD BE RESTRICTED TO NON-SECURITY ISSUES FLOWING FROM A CSCE, AND/OR TO MAKE PREPARATIONS FOR POSSIBLE FUTURE CONFERENCES. AN INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT WOULD NOT BE NECESSARY IN VIEW OF THE LIMITED DURATION AND FUNCTIONS TO BE PERFORMED BY THESE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE MEETINGS. THE LOCAL FOREIGN OFFICE COULD PROVIDE SECRETARIAT SERVICES ON AN AD HOC BASIS. ONGOING TRANSMISSIONS OF INFORMATION TO CSCE PARTICIPANTS (REF B) ON SUCH TECHNICAL ISSUES AS CBM'S WOULD NOT BE ACCOMPLISHED THROUGH THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE, BUT COULD BE

ACCOMPLISHED THROUGH NORMAL DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS, IN

ORDER TO AVOID ENGAGING COMMITTEE IN SECURITY ISSUES.

5. THE FOREGOING IS GUIDANCE FOR US MISSION NATO AND
MPT DEL HELSINKI, AND FOR THE BACKGROUND INFORMATION OF
OTHER ADDRESSEES. INFO ADDRESSEES SHOULD NOT REPEAT NOT
DIVULGE FOREGOING TO ALLIES UNTIL CONCLUSION OF NATO
DISCUSSIONS AND IN LIGHT OF FURTHER DISCUSSIONS IN
HELSINKI. GDS. ROGERS UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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